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Lucas (Charles) M.P.

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D U B L I N :

Printed for J A M E S K E L B U R N in
George's-Lane, 1748.

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A D D R E S S

TO THE

FREE CITIZENS

AND

FREEHOLDERS



CITY OF DUBLIN



DUBLIN:

Printed for James Kearsley in
George's Lane, 1748.

A SECOND
ADDRESS
TO THE
FREE CITIZENS,
AND
FREE-HOLDERS,
OF THE
CITY of DUBLIN.

EVERY *good Member of Society* must always be mindful of the indispensable *Debt* he owes to the *Public*, and, therefore, constantly solicitous for the *Freedom* and *Wealth* of all *Mankind*, in general, but, more especially, of that *Body of Men* to which he is inviolably Bound by Law, as well, as by every moral and religious Consideration.

Next to his Duty to his CREATOR, *Man's* chief Obligation is to *Man*. We are not born for ourselves alone ; We have a mutual relation to, and Dependance upon, each other ; and *self-Love*, tho' the most active Principle in the Mind of *Man*, is but a Branch of *Social Love* ; Inasmuch, that by this alone, the purity and real Value of the former are to be proved and ascertained.

The truly sensible, who must ever be a good, *Man*, looks upon himself, not only as a Limb or Member of the great Society, but as a *Trustee* or *Servant* to the PUBLIC. His *first* and *great Obligation* is to *serve* the *Community*, in his *allotted Station*, to the utmost of his Power. He knows that every *Individual* is, by the *great, unerring* LAW of NATURE, as well, as by that of *Man*, indispensably *Subservient* and *Ministerial* to, as well, as dependent on, the WHOLE COMMUNITY, and that, therefore, all *selfish* or *private Interest* must ever be freely, and readily sacrificed to the *Public*. Such a *Man* cannot, unmoved, see the most slight and distant Incroachment made, or threatened, on the *Privileges* and *Rights* of his *Neighbours*. His Heart and Hand must ever be *raised* to oppose all *Degrees* of, and *Tendencies* to, *Oppression* and *Tyranny*, executed or attempted by the *highest* upon the *lowest* and *most remote* : And much less, can an *immediate Member* of the *Community*, receive the *slightest Wound* or *Injury*, which the good *Man* does not Feel and Bleed for, in a double Sense ; first, from universal Benevolence and Brotherly Love ; and secondly, from good Policy.

While any Sense of Liberty is left, the good *Man*, let his Sphere in Life be what it may, must
ever

ever be able, as well, as willing, to give some check to the *biggest Oppressors* and *evil Doers*, and some comfort or solace to *injured Innocence* and *Virtue*. He cannot, therefore, grow *weary in well-doing*. He must persevere with *Zeal, Courage* and *Fortitude*.

This Character every Man should adopt. For this is but a short Sketch of what Man should be, I am sorry to say, not what Man is. But I must insist, that that Man is best qualified for every Office of public Trust, who best fullfills this Character.

Yet, melancholly Consideration ! Such is the depravity of the Times, that no Man wades with more, real difficulties, thro' Life, than the generous, public spirited Man. His Conduct is ever a Reproach to the Multitude; their *Envy, Hatred* and *Malice* will, therefore, upon all Occasions, boil over upon him, and shew it self in various Shapes.---*The Virtues of the most Eminent are, at best, obscured, by the Ignorance, Prejudice or Envy of their Beholders.*---*Some Men cannot, or if they can, will not, Discern, or distinguish, a noble from a base Action.* Others are apt to attribute them to some false End or Intention ; and others purposely mis-represent, or put a wrong Interpretation upon them. But a solid and substantial Greatness of Soul looks down with a generous Neglect on the Censures and Applauses of the misguided Multitude, and places a Man beyond the little noise and strife of Tongues.

If these Positions be true, and these Considerations just, nothing should deter the Man, who has established these Principles in his Mind, from steadily pursuing the virtuous Course, which a well informed Conscience Directs. His Mind must ever be bent on doing all possible Good. Nor is he to be discourag-
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ed by all the Obstacles that can be thrown in his way; his Intentions are all that he is accountable for, to Heaven; and, when he has done, or endeavoured to do, all the good in his Power, not till then, can he content himself with the comfortable Consideration of having discharged his Duty; he is not answerable for the Event, that must be left to Providence.

However short of this Character, I may be found to have fallen, if I know my self, I can, of a Truth, say, it has ever been uppermost in my View, and that it is from these Principles alone, I am now prompted, to offer my self for an *high Station* among you. Could I have means of laying my Bosom open to you, I should not fear being able to acquit myself of Undertaking this *arduous Task*, for you, thro' *Pride* or unbecoming *Ambition*. I assure you, I am most perfectly contented with being cast among the *lower Class* of Men, with regard to *Station* and *Grandeur*; for there, in all Nations, at this, nay, at all Times, do we find most Freedom and Virtue. It is my utmost Pride that I am a *Tradesman* and *Citizen* of DUBLIN, and that I am neither of *Family*, *Fortune*, *Education*, or *Principle* to recommend me, to what the World falsely calls, *Great Men*, that is, *Men in Power*; or *modern*, that is, *new-fashioned Gentlemen*. Do but reflect, who have restored, and now, uphold the Freedom and Rights of Sweden. You will find they were the *poor, despised Tradesmen* and *Peasants*, whose *Representatives*, in their *Parliament*, tho' called from their *Trades*, their *Shops* or their *Ploughs*, are now the principal *Opponents* of the Incroachments on PUBLIC LIBERTY, and its *boldest* and *best Assertors*. Who long preserved the sinking States of *Holland* from *impending Slavery*, and lately restored the *original Frame of Government*, against the Pow-
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er of many *corrupt Tyrants*, grown great by the Spoils of their Country? Was not this done by the *Tradesmen*, headed, at first, by no more considerable Persons, than a *Black-Smith* and a *Wheel-Wright*? What has often prevented the Ruin of a neighbouring Nation, when a *Minister practised* in *Perfidy* and *Corruption*, packed *Place-Men*, *Pensioners* and other *venal Slaves* and *Prostitutes*, in such Crowds, into Parliament, that he could gain every End he proposed there?-----It was the *Virtue* and *Freedom* of the TRADESMEN of LONDON, alone, which prevented many *anticonstitutional Bills* being carried into Execution, that had passed both Houses of Parliament.---In this Class my Pride would Place me, if my Fortune had not. Here I contentedly, gladly cast my Anchor.---Judge of the Truth of this by my Conduct, thro' all the Offices in which I have already served you. And as a Bond for future Behaviour, accept these public Declarations.---It is time to lay *Self*-aside; but let me first inform you, that tho' I have publicly offered myself a Candidate for the Place of a CITIZEN to represent you in Parliament, it is but to let you See my Intention and Desire, however weak and insufficient you may find me, to serve the Sinking Cause of LIBERTY and my COUNTRY. From the same Motive, incapable as I am of the Task, if the *Citizens* of *Dublin* Commanded me, on any Emergency, to lead an Army for them, I should certainly obey them. Their *Free Choice* shall ever determine me in all Matters. And to shew my *inviolable* Regard to their *Freedom*, I scorn, disdain and detest all the little *base anticonstitutional Arts* of *modern Candidates*, to gain the *Voices* of Men; and if any *mistaken* Friend should attempt

attempt to influence *any Man* to *Vote* for me, on any other Principle, than *FREE CHOICE*, let it not be looked upon, as my Act, I *renounce*, and *protest* against it.---The Man who acts on Constitutional Principles cannot, in *any instance*, *invade* or *restrain* the *LIBERTIES* of his *Neighbour*. He must think it, therefore *designing*, if not *Criminal* to influence a *Voice* to bring him into Parliament, as it would be to influence a *Sheriff* to put him on a *Jury*. ----- Suppose yourselves, then, *Sheriffs*, and any Man Solicited you to be put on a *Pannel*, would you not, therefore, *Suspect* and *Reject* him? You could not avoid it.---In the Case of an *Election*, you act in a *judicial Capacity*, as much as a *Sheriff* does. Your *Vote* is not entirely your own. You cannot without *Perfidy*, a Breach of Trust to Society, give it, thro' *Interest* or *Complement* to any Man. He is a *Wicked, low Tyrant* that Demands, or accepts of it, on these Terms, and cannot therefore be fit to *represent*; nor, indeed, to be *represented* by, any Body. And the only difference between *him*, and *those* that comply with him, can be no more, than that between the *Tempter* and the *Tempted*, *both*, at best, are *criminal*.---It is an Honor to represent *FREE MEN*, but none but a *Slave* can Submit to be the *Representative* of *Slaves*.

The steady Virtue and Freedom, shewn by the *COMMONS* of *Dublin*, in the Years one thousand seven hundred and forty-one, to one thousand seven hundred and forty four, by their invariable Adherence to the *Rights* and *Privileges* of *themselves* and their *Constituents*, which they bravely asserted and Supported against all the artfull Practices and
Power

Power of these *Proud Enslavers*, the *Aldermen*, who looked upon their *lawfull* and *rightfull* *Creators*, as their *Creatures*, like some *Representatives*; has always encouraged me to believe the *Citizens* of *Dublin*, as *free* and as *brave* a *Body* of *Men*, as any in the *World*. This may well be presumed, without any *Exaggeration*, when we find a *Sett*, culled by the *Aldermen*, out of a *double Return*, not for any opinion of their *Sense* or *Freedom*, to be sure; as soon, as the long *Secreted* and *unknown* *Charters* of the *City*, and the *constitutional Rights* of the *People* were brought to *Light*, supported a *Majority* of *three* to *two*, and sometimes, *two* to *one*, upon every *Question* for *TRUTH* and *LIBERTY*, against the long continued *Usurpations* of these *little Tyrants*, till they met with that *Fatal Rub*, in the *Courts* of *Law*, to which none of you can be a *Stranger*.

This, as it has always emboldened me, in my low way, to endeavour to *Prosecute* this *Cause*, so it shall ever, while the same principles *Subsist* in your *Breasts*, animate me to exert the utmost of the little *Power*, *Heaven* has given me, to serve you.

As few of you have been in the *Commons*, and none of you that know your *Rights*, or opposed your *Task-Masters*, there, can ever hope to get in again, the *Constitution* of this *City* can be known but to a very *Few*: So that let your *Sense* of *Liberty* be ever so *Strong*, if not *duly informed* of your *Rights*, you must, probably, often *Err* in your *Judgments*.

In my first *Address* to you, I recommended no *Body*, as I then, thought of no particular to offer. My sole Aim in advising you to *due Deliberation* on your *Choice*, was only in order to keep up the

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Prerogative

Prerogative of Free-Men, to prevent *promises* for *Votes* being *stoln* or *extorted* from you, and to gain time to lay the *Constitution* of the *City*, and the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the *Citizens*, open to your *View*.

This I shall do ; regardless of the *Snubs* of *Men in Power*, the *Aldermen of Society*, as well, as of *Dublin*, and the *Sneers* of *anonymous Scriblers*, or of *self-sufficient* or *Hackney Gibbers*.---Truth must Stand by it self. It may be *over-cast* by *Tyranny*, and *Eclipsed* by *Ridicule*, for a while, but, like the *Sun*, it must, sooner or later, Shine forth to the manifest *Disgrace* and *Subversion* of Both.

In order to give you a Clear and rational *View* of your *Rights* and *Privileges*, it will be necessary to *Trace* them from the *Original*.

In Prosecuting this Design, I shall, therefore, endeavour to give you a *true and succinct Account* of the ORIGINAL FOUNDATION of the *national Constitution*, drawn from the best Authorities of *History* and *Laws*. I shall explain the *Prerogative*, *Powers* and *Privileges* of the THREE ESTATES, that constitute our happy Frame of Government, the KING, LORDS and COMMONS ; and Point out the *Strength* and *Excellencies* of this Constitution ; in which it will appear, of what Importance to the whole, the keeping up FREEDOM and INDEPENDENCE in ELECTIONS, agreeable to the *primitive Institution*, must always be.

I shall then make an easy and natural Transition from the *National* to the *civil Constitution*, And shall give you a Correct Copy and Translation of THE GREAT CHARTER of your CITY,
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confirmed by ACT of PARLIAMENT, which must at once silence and put to Confusion all the *Enemies* of your *Establishment*; and shew them, that they must first compleatly *overturn* the *national Constitution*, before they can hope to shake the FOUNDATION of OUR CITY.

This I shall do, without any View of Profit to the *Author*, or the *Printer*; for as I shall draw these Sketches, at such times and in such manner, as the Calls of my Profession permit, they cannot, at a time, exceed the Bounds or size of this Paper. And that no Man should possibly be censured for what I Write, on this Head, as well, as to shew my Sense of Truth and Freedom, I shall always lay my self open, by setting my Name to every Paper. If I advance an Error, I shall, upon Conviction, readily, publicly, retract.

I cannot conclude this Paper, which has already exceeded the intended Bounds, without endeavouring to enforce one *timely Caution* more.

You cannot be altogether insensible how you and YOUR COMMONS are treated by the Board of *Aldermen*. Tho' you cannot see all their *Impositions*, all their *Oppressions*, all their *Perfidy* and *unnatural Usurpations*, at one View, you must know, that they *confessedly*, *unlawfully*, and *unjustly*, withhold from you, YOUR UNQUESTIONABLE RIGHT of *electing Aldermen, Coroners*, and other Officers of the City: That they look upon YOUR COMMONS as *Beasts of Burden*, and transact matters without their consent: That they *withhold* the *Government* and every *Benefit* of the *Hospital*, founded and erected by the City, for *reduced Citizens*, and their *Children*, from the *Commons and Citizens*, and their

Issue :

Issue : That, in *Spight* to the *Commons*, they prefer their *menial Servants* and their *Bastards*, to *Places* for which many *poor Citizens* *Pétition*, and for want of which, *they* and the *abandoned Orphans* of the *City* are left exposed to all the *Miseries* of a wretched, degenerate state, where *Poverty* is deemed the *worst*, the only *unpardonable Crime*. That YOUR GREAT COURT OF DAREIN HUNDRED, where you have a *negative* upon all the *Acts of Assembly*, is set at nought : That YOUR CUSTOMS are given up without asking the *Commons* Consent : That the *Entertainments* instituted and set apart for You, on all *Public Days*, are taken from You and bestowed upon *Great Men*, and *Favourites* of the Board ; while YOU and YOUR COMMONS are treated with the *Fragments* of their Feasts, at the *Stairs* of the *Tboljel*, or at the *Door* of the *Mayoralty-house*, like *Beggars*. These are but a few of the *Grievances* I could, and may hereafter, recite. Nothing can give these *Abuses* Sanction but your having *Aldermen* for your *Representatives*. If you have *disinterested Citizens* to represent you, your *Grievances*, of every kind, may be brought before the COMMON-COUNCIL of the *Realm*, the *Parliament*, and you must have *Redress*.----Have you any reason to judge that an *Alderman* will bring in any *Petition*, and much less, one against *himself* and the Board ? And consider, will not returning an *Alderman* be such a consenting to, and approving of, the *Tyrannies*, under which you groan, that it will, hereafter, be vain to make any *struggle* for your *Liberties*. I am too *inconsiderable* an *Example* for any body, but as I shall ever act as a *Free Agent*, before I should be looked upon as *One* of the *Members* of a *Body*, that could return *such a Representative*, I shall chuse to be

be cut off from all Communion with them, by *Disfranchisement*.

One thing more, which I had like to have forgot. Every Man, that is Born the Son of a *free-Man*, Every Man, that serves an *Apprenticeship* to a *free-Man*, and every Man that Marries the Daughter of a *free-Man*, is intituled to his *Freedom* of *Dublin*. This later *Right* the *Aldermen*, for Reasons best known to themselves, have, for several Years passed, cut off; but, all such may Claim their Freedom at any Assembly; and tho' they be refused, yet their Votes are as good, as these of any other *Freemen*, or of the *Free-holders*.

While you deserve the Name of *Free-men*, I shall ever think it an Honor to be, and declare myself,

BRETHREN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

Your truly affectionate Brother,

and

most faithful Servant,

C. Lucas.

DUBLIN Aug.
27th, 1748.

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be out of from all Continuation with them, by Dr.

One thing more, which I had like to have for-
God. Every Man, that is Born the Son of a free-
Man, Every Man, that loves an Independence to
a free-Man, and every Man that loves the
Daughter of a free-Man, I this day
of Dublin. I have, for love-
Relations well known to you, and the, they be-
tal Years passed, out of
their Freedom as my Ancestors, they be-
refused, yet their Vows are as good, as those of
any other Freeman, or of the free-holders.



While you leave the Name of Freeman, I
shall ever think an Honor to be; and declare my-

BROTHERS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

I am truly affectionate Brother,

and

most faithful servant,

C. Lucas.

Dublin. 4th.
27th. 1748.